

/263 cont. /

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
 787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
 278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be em-
 ployed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of
 herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with
 all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
 [553] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an
 illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion
 of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance
 with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in ac-
 cordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
 278
 137
 [127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on
 the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent
 summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliog-
 raphy in the foreign text, p. 323/.

čandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičac (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.),
čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime
 (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?),
limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayaskey, šu
 (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyf (Peperomia
sp.), tātse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus
 L.), umsim (Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubfiskwe, wáhi
 (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis
 Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
 756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
 278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
 [774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is
 spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the arm-
 pits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a
 tea brewed from the leaves.

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section.

Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads

• [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's
773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was law-giver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/273 cont. /

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
121 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

Eċ, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
776 death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eċ
[753] kills the most people. Eċ lives in the earth; no man has seen
[761] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
[787] earth, however, to see him; rather, eċ himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eċ is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eċ is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eċ a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eċ gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eċ demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eċ any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eċ anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eċ. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eċ, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eċ, bringing them at night to the place desired
by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eċ herbs and
[787] brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eċ.

• 774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, uns

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and tafi, with which everyone is familiar, although
 776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
 753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same;
 but both of them also said that üns or tafi, if they had left the
 person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tüs, eč,
 or nyic without the person's becoming aware of this immediately,
 but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this
 case üns and tafi were probably different, they did not know how
 [775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his üns goes to
 heaven and the person himself becomes tafi. He and other teyu
 756 were able to catch the üns of a human being. Thus, for example,
 774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
 754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring
 forth the üns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
 [783] then die. In order to get the üns in his power, he must first cleanse
 [824] his hands with the herbs šü and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy.
 [276] The üns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly
 and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar
 to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
 754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
 756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
 [124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us
 that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic, which, to be sure, he
 had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given
 himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
 [682] kill the üns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say
 that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other
 food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the
 sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner:
 The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santísima /Holy
 Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father
 himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills
 people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as
 Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of
being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though
he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and
was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco,
too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was
likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his
best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was
the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also con-
ducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin ex-
plained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan
had to die because the tus had stolen the taff soul of the capitan.
The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when
he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick
man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin,
had fought with the tus, offered him medicines, and tried to ap-
pease him.

775 When the uns soul (uns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, uns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips.
Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very
faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether,
the uns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No
one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In
heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the
uns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/275 cont. /

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
[828] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
[774] and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and ex-
periences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the
person dies, üns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the
upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by
way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form
of a human being with white clothing. Whereas üns goes to heaven,
taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth,
although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the
shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around
two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the
wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a
wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where
the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the üns leaves
the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It
leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.

775 Felisa herself tries to hold back the üns of a dying person by blow-
775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
763 of the herbs čáyuts and šuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
[824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms
from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back üns. Taff leaves
the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can
see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is
able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged
reed (nyfla), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill.
199 /see p. 288 /).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
[825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent
reason. Whereas üns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No
accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following
December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each
year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

/276 cont. /

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These
gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The áhimos, too, can only be seen
by shamans.

- 774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns
and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats
in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after
birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour
human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
773 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a
purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic prac-
tices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the
same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different
medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let
us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the
shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-
294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial
place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the
burial place together and then return to the house of mourning.
Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river
where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the
first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which,
however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still
unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the
house with the same remedies with which he purified the people,
namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been
added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat
and drink.

/285 cont. /

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only
possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil
sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose
and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It
came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be
caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after
night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one
night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The
shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a power-
ful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up
over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way.
Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his
signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He
immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep
sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people
who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and
asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal.
He then strewed çayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no
longer walk, so the people were able to capture him..

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter
a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They
bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars.
The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first
cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the
bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman
immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed
packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the
824 nyic. The nyic digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order
to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a
lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyic gives it a
powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it
is supposed to die very quickly, the nyic throws strongly efficacious
herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he
has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so
distended that he dies. If the nyic sprinkles lime over the soul, the
person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero
(Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging
smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of
the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death.
The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero
(Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the
activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without
the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village com-
munity can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal
abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyic, the
tūs, eč, and gělyómp spirits and turn them into something good.
His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what
has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but
his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts
future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/303 cont./

* 539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

* 539 The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, 781 where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the 774 way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

484 (No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the 774 taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being, 761 it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

/CXXII cont. /

- see* Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Plate C

- [857]* Ill. 197. The older sisters take care of their younger siblings
[868] as a matter of course and practice the duties of a woman from childhood on.

- Ill. 198. Among the tasks of the women are the making of clothing for the family and the housework, including the fetching of firewood. Whereas the men carry heavy loads on their shoulders, the women use the forehead band.

/CXXIII/

Plate CI

- *[774]* Ill. 199. The shaman Felisa Ipia with her shaman's staff and the nyika reed. In the wool threads fastened to her staff she has gathered the souls of all the inhabitants of Santa Rosa. With the reed she tears apart the clothing of a soul about to leave a dying person. It must then return to its body and the person need not die.

[755]

- Ill. 200. Gable post of a hunting hut with the skull trophy of a slain monkey. The skulls of the animal booty hung on the gable post, as well as the wing feathers of the birds killed, are supposed to guarantee further success in hunting. Below the skull trophy, the incised figure of a spirit besides the Christian cross.

Plate CII

- Ill. 201. Woman grinding maize with the hand grindstone.
Ill. 202. Calderun music group. The instruments are the transverse flute, bass drum, drum, tambourine, and triangle.

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompani- 535
ment of a drum; *rito-ko*, or *fita-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accom- 535
panied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a 534
long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or
rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds
and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corre- 776
sponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, 778
carved images of which were often found in the houses. The
diyi, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, [799]
lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the
doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckian*.
So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he com-
plains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the
true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide,
simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river,
together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea 825
relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, 775
in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of
the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. 787
A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the
ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the
construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to
frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often 761
attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness 754
to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit,
provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of
the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been 825
used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed 774
to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of
post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. 157
The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails 533
around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 283

[Parcunlidad of Calderas]

* /304 cont. /

539 name of Calderas. María Santísima gave the fire and disappeared.

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

18. The Mine-armadillo

*539
823
825 My father was inside a house. Suddenly he saw an animal that shone like a lamp; the light went up to the sky. The animal was a mine-armadillo which was climbing up the hill. If one succeeds in catching him, one puts him in a large box and gives him maize to eat. He turns into a mine, pure gold. Before catching him, one must have the silver ready, 50 or 100 pesos; one wraps him in a new kerchief and lifts him; he is very light. Without the silver, he is seen in the stream or on the path, but one cannot catch him; one puts his hand there where the armadillo is, withdraws it, and he does not move.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

19. The Thin Man

*539
● 774
781 My father bought a jar and carried it on his back. At night, drunk, he met the thin man sitting by the path; it was a soul. He was about to fall into the ditch, but the soul did not let him fall and accompanied him home as if he were his brother. Father, frightened, started falling, but the soul held him up; he carried a light, making the night very clear. Nevertheless he did not speak. The man looked like the Sisters; he was quite white.

*539

20. The Devil

My father, with a friend, was coming from Belalcázar on horseback; I was behind my father. The friend came last; he

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They
differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos
(cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch
them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch
them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.

• [774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and im-
precise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory
difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated
parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely
among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been
treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians
were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer
in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought
from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to
treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the
second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha,
montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He ad-
ministered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to
a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:

/238/ To clean away the prans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñ, nundayuskei, shugues, chandur,
guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/253 cont./

* 755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
 * 756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
 578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since
 at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ajf
 bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her
 employer. At once the curer went to the ajf bush, removed
 the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining
 anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on
 him. On the following day he removed them. The patient
 recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and
 demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

* 754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
 * 756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well
 that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to
 the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for
 information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably
 answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were
 to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
 75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
 539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:
 ● 774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous;
 I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared
 his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer.
 I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death.
 In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty
 of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he
 did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to
 kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least
 a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill
 that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we
 used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seek-
 ing was very clever. He would call the soul and it would
 come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very
 suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed
 my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/253 cont. /

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
 539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
 ● 774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he
 would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at
 the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had
 his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it
 fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it
 down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling
 sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I
 saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back,
 for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me,
 since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to
 pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated
 to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at
 them (kit' sust). They went to sleep.

* 756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
 539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
 789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal.
 Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the
 criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
 774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente.
 They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small
 pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul.
 At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing
 coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately
 falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi,
 remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
 [783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately
 cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
 * been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
 717 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
 783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

/258 cont./

754 Methods of sorcery. There are various procedures for
● 774 practicing sorcery:

/259/ a) The one most widespread and about which the most information is provided consists of digging a hole and waiting over it for the soul of the victim. It arrives, giving off light like a candle. At once the sorcerer hits it with the tama, and it falls into the hole. It is at his disposal; he can bury it, whip it, blow remedies or mambe upon it, show it harmful objects.

When a quick death is desired, the sorcerer buries the soul with bad remedies, tamping it down vigorously with earth from the cemetery. The soul comes out with a whistling sound when the person dies.

754 It may also be whipped with the following remedies:

774 Bao* (Araceae). The victim's stomach swells until he dies.

824 Borrachero (Datura sp.). Poisonous narcotic. The victim goes mad.

Cabuya (Agave sp.). The juice of the leaves is caustic. The victim rots away.

Caspi* (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze). Poisonous shrub whose emanations cause irritation of the skin. The person swells up and dies.

Chuwet in Spanish, called estancadera (Krameria ixíña?) by the whites. It has pointed leaves, which, when brought into contact with the soul, stab the person.

Lechero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), poisonous plant. The victim bursts.

Pringamoza. The hairs of this member of the Urticaceae enter the body, and when they reach the heart, the victim dies.

754 The sorcerer can blow mambe on the soul, leaving the
774 person blind, or drive him insane by moving toward it a deer skull with an echi inside.

He can also prick it with the bones and hair of porcupines, snake bones, claws of the swift parakeet, and talons of eagles.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
● 774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart)
falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum
sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies
of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating
woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is
stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works;
stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies
on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If
by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the
witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can
send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress
Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they
place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts
pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast
on one of the former gobernadores of the parcialidad. The late
Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty.
Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó),
dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and
stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver.

[713] Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest
has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident
(fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in
that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream.
The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

/262 cont. /

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo.
The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the
protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in
the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some
30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
● 774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
754 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
157 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with
156 people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed
accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high
degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims,
regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and
inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and
it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about
sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they
are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the
struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone
down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most
dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard
as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an
evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism,
and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into
all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times
and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its exe-
cutors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.